1:Gallin E,4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Formosa AD1

With the advent of the Japanese in 1895, Lukang very soon lost its importance as a port, for Japan's plans for the colonization of Taiwan did not include maintaining Lukang as a trade and immigration center. The Japanese set about cutting off the movement of people and goods between Taiwan and the mainland, and, to divert the colony's trade from China to Japan, they built the port of Keelung in northern Taiwan (Barclay, 1954b:12, 18–42). The demise of Lukang both as a port and as a major urban center was hastened by the silting up of the harbor, which had begun even before the coming of the Japanese. As a result of Japanese indifference to Lukang as a port, the harbor soon became unusable.

The final blow by which the Japanese doomed Lukang's importance was the routing of the extensive west coast railroad system far from Lukang. The city could then neither be maintained as a major market town nor as a point of trans-shipment for the area's produce. Its decline as an urban center and as an influence on the surrounding area was reflected in an accompanying population decrease from one hundred thousand in the late eighteenth century to fifty-one thousand in 1954 (*Women te Lukang Chen*, 1954). The decrease took place despite the high rate of population growth in the rest of Taiwan.

Today, Lukang stands several miles from the sea, a city much diminished in size and importance. It offers little economic opportunity for its inhabitants, and despite some light industry, few village people are employed there. Nevertheless, although it is now a small, out-of-the-way city, it offers nearby villagers a convenient local marketplace and a center for some entertainment. Most important, it still functions as a religious center. From the earliest times the Chinese immigrants brought their gods with them from the mainland to Taiwan. These gods and goddesses, such as Matsu, became firmly established as important deities in Taiwan; the Matsu temple in Lukang is believed by the people of the area to be the oldest or second oldest Matsu temple on the island. For this reason Lukang is still one of the most important focal points for the religious pilgrimages of those who maintain loyalty to the Goddess Matsu.

The historical picture of this area at the time of the late Ch'ing dynasty comes from data furnished by older or better educated residents of the area and several local Chinese and Japanese gazetteers.[3] These various sources were used, wherever possible, to corroborate one another. The sources note that in the late nineteenth century the area was sparsely populated and that its inhabitants lived in constant fear of bandits. Up to the early part of the twentieth century dry farming produced most of the staples grown, since there was only a very limited system of irrigation. Crops like wheat, soybeans, sorghum, sweet potatoes, peanuts, a plant used to make dye for cloth, and broom grass were

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the main products. Rice growing played little part in the economy. The almost total lack of irrigation, presumably combined with a high mortality rate, prevented any rapid increase in population. There were not even enough people to exploit the land fully.

The present area of Hsin Hsing was at that time the site of only a few scattered households. The inhabitants were so few and so weak, and the bandits so many and so strong, that Hsin Hsing and eleven nearby villages formed a mutual protection association. When a village was attacked by bandits, it sounded large gongs as an alarm signal; the signal was relayed from village to village, and the able-bodied men rushed to the aid of the community under attack. The associated villages still maintain an informal organization today, though its function is now the production of a joint annual religious procession (which will be discussed in Chapter 8).

The coming of the Japanese to Taiwan had major repercussions not only for Lukang but for the Hsin Hsing village area generally. Once their rule was established on the island, the Japanese moved quickly to bring about law and order by suppressing the bandits. They eliminated the lawless element from the countryside and brought new security to the village people.

The Japanese also took in hand the extreme complexities of a tri-level land tenure system of landlords, tenants, and subtenants. (See details in Chapter 4.) In order to establish clear property rights and increase the efficiency of tax assessment and collection, the Japanese carried out extensive land surveys from about 1898. In 1905 the "Land Investigation Regulations" were promulgated; they resulted in a greatly simplified land tenure structure which included only landlords and tenants. This basic system is still in force today. Even in more recent years, although the Land Reform Program of the Chinese Nationalist government modified the internal content of the land tenure structure, its form has remained roughly the same.

At the same time, the Japanese gradually extended the irrigation system to serve much larger areas (see *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*)[4] as part of their effort to integrate the colonial area of Taiwan into the Japanese economy. The development of a major irrigation system enabled the agricultural population to expand its rice production greatly, and this rice ultimately became its major export to the Japanese homeland (Barclay, 1954b:18–42).[5]

The expansion of the irrigation system, accompanied by a greater emphasis on agriculture in the area, occurred at about the time that the main impact of the closing of the port of Lukang began to affect the villagers, who thus lost the opportunity to supplement their livelihood by working in the port. The increased irrigation meant that wet-rice could be planted profitably. Wet-rice production demands a

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Hsin Hsing, Village in Change

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In the preceding chapters we have seen how the Hsin Hsing villager, a peasant who was tied to the land and the village community and primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture, is being transformed to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. We have seen how such developments are affecting village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. We have also seen that although many features of traditional Chinese culture are still evident in the Hsin Hsing village area (especially in the realm of religion, which continues to be a source of community unity), the impact of increased urbanization in Taiwan in recent decades has brought about important and rather rapid socioeconomic and cultural changes. This has been especially marked in the roles of the village and kinship organizations that were previously the peasants' chief sources of identification and security. We now turn to a description of modifications and changes in traditional values and behavior that further indicate the inexorable direction of change in Hsin Hsing.

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Social change is not new to Chinese society. It has been going on for a long time in Taiwan, as well as on the mainland of China, as a consequence of the continuing process of urbanization. However, the process in Taiwan has been accelerated as a direct result of Japanese rule followed by the present rule of the Nationalist Chinese government.

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Until the early part of this century, rural society in Taiwan had been relatively stable for many years. Population growth was slow, and there was enough land for the people. Members of the economic families had close relationships with the village as a community as well as with their localized kinship groups. As long as communications were poor, banditry a constant danger, and mobility limited, village unity was essential to security and even survival. Cohesive, tightly knit single *tsu* villages were quite powerful and frequently the de facto govern-